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Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
Vermilion red	ehedne-kenesu	ahe²en-dutu	e²edne	ŝereŝeraŝinte natope (= urucu)
Carmine red	ehendutu	aeh²endutu	e²edne	ŝeraŝinte, natope
Cobalt blue	---	asuisuendisu	ŝiŝuĭdna	tapũte, tikualẽnte
Ultramarine blue	---	asuisuendutu	ŝiŝuĭdna	tapũte, tikualẽnte
Veronese green	ŝidiŝĭde	asetesedeen-dutu	ŝedeŝededne	pasĭnte
Emerald green	ŝideŝi-dedne	asetesede²-endutu	ŝedeŝe-dedne	pasinte, kualẽnte
Strontian yellow	ŝideŝi-dedne	asetesede²-endutu	ŝedeŝe-dedne	natopeŝeraŝinte, kualẽnte
Yellow ocher	ŝideŝi-dedne	asetesede²-endutu	hũndne	seraŝinte
Burnt sienna	ŝideŝi-dedne	asetesede²-endutu	hũndne	natopeŝeraŝinte

KNOWLEDGE RELATIVE TO THE UNIVERSE

821 The Nambikwara of the eastern group call the stars ikitasu, atasu (supernatural animal) or inintu atasu; those of the central and southern group call them tãgare (classifying: -gare, that which hangs, decorates, trembles) and distinguish between "little stars," (tãganiuĭkare, -niuĭkare being a diminutive) and "planets" (tãgarare; classificatory: -are, full, swelled, liquid). No information could be gathered concerning the constellations. The sun is [118] called otianĭkisu, uterĭtisu (a 1/2), ũnde (b 1/2), iõta (c); the moon ĭru, irekisu (a 1/2), heinde, heĭtande (b 1/2), hiĭta (c), and they distinguish:

The full moon: arãditatinoa (a1), ejedamniene (b1) ipaĭkolota (c);

The moon in its (first or last) quarter: ãgiai²ĭnoa (a1), ejemirakende (b1), ipaĭkolo (c).

805 The year is divided into two periods: the rains (mihĭrage, b1), lasting approximately five months, and the dry season (komirige,

●805 b1) lasting seven months. The time is counted in moons and in nights, and the term moon or night is mentioned as many times as is necessary to arrive at the total of months (lunar), or of days, that one desires to mention. This enumeration gives a savory color to the language (cf. quotations 6 and 52): "hetende, hetende . . ." or kanadao, kanadao . ., etc. A source of confusion often comes from the fact that the Indian uses the term Ka (abbreviated from kanadero), "a single one," implying the period of time involved; one finds oneself thus faced with the enumeration "Kã, Kã, Kã ..." etc., without knowing whether it is a question of nights,or of one (moon) one (moon), etc.

They distinguish "today" (uẽidnekuare, b1) from "tomorrow" (kãnadaotrekuare, b1), from "yesterday" (kutnore, b1), and from "the day after tomorrow" (kãnaẽlaore, b1, = "still another night").

The day is divided into six phases (dialect b1);

The dawn: littenc, "it comes up" (the sun), naãninde, "it mounts";

9 o'clock: nĩkẽlaena, "it brightens";

Noon: nakakãtiore, "the bad hour";

15 o'clock: nĩẽditige, "it turns";

17 o'clock: kadeẽrgiena, "it falls";

Twilight: kanalũtere, "night comes."

823 The Nambikwara recognize four directions of space, two of which correspond to the axis of the apparent movement of the sun and two to the direction of the rivers, in effect approximately perpendicular to the preceding:

The north: ẽokẽnore, "toward bottom";

The south: ũkenore, "toward the top";

The west: ẽuingãtere, "the sun goes down";

The east: ẽunlirĩtere, "the sun comes up" (b1).

57. ndaorerilikãkate nejenã nejlikẽ (b1)
There is no other one, it is enough!

Territories are known and marked at distances extending 200 or 300 kilometers. Places, sources and courses of water have names, and the Indians (or at least some) are able to trace on the sand summary maps of travel with information as to the principal landmarks. Here is how A1 marks the stages of the trip of his group from the Papagaio River to the tributary of the right bank of the Juruena River where his village is located:

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

particular form of their own. Death is identified with these spirits. Men's souls are believed to be reincarnated as jaguars, whereas women's and children's souls are taken away by wind and thunder, never to return.

The highest being is the Thunder, with which any man, though usually a shaman, may have personal contact through revelations and visions. Women, however, except when very old, and children are deprived of these privileges. Women are also forbidden, under pain of death, to see the sacred flageolets (see Musical Instruments, p. 368) played at the ceremonies marking the beginning and the end of the dry season.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

The shaman is sometimes distinct from—but more frequently identified with—the political chief. He is distinguished by having the privilege of polygyny, playing the leading role in ceremonial life, and possessing special supernatural powers. He treats patients by sucking out the disease or by fighting it with small ritual arrows called "thunder-arrows."

In addition to magical cures, the *Nambicuara* treat sickness with numerous medicinal plants, which are used externally or internally according to the disease. For eye infection, which is very frequent, they apply the infusion of a special bark with the help of a container made of leaves.

FOLKLORE, LORE, AND LEARNING

The only legend recorded by Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b) is a flood tale relating the destruction of human life and its re-creation through several incestuous marriages between the offspring of an old woman, who was the only being who escaped the disaster.

The only basic numbers used for counting are one and two, but the natives can reckon higher figures by combining these.

Colors are classified differently according to the dialects. The *Eastern, Central, Southern,* and *Western Nambicuara* agree in putting yellow and green in the same category, whereas the *Northern* group identify red and yellow, and class green, blue, and black together.

Some *Nambicuara* groups call stars by the same name which designates the spirits. The year is divided into two seasons and an undetermined number of lunar months. The day includes six main stages, each based on the position of the sun. Space is divided into two sections that are perpendicular to each other, one corresponding to the apparent movement of the sun and the other to the direction of the main waterways.

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headwater streams. The deep clear streams make fishing with timbó difficult. Game in the forests and on the plain is scarce. Yet by exploiting all the resources of the area the Nambicuara are able to survive. In contrast to the other tribes reported in this monograph the Nambicuara have the broadest resource base, as the list of their resources in Appendix 1 indicates.

The Eastern Nambicuara occupy the high plateau between Utiarity and Vilhena. At Utiarity the altitude is 442 meters and at Vilhena 665 meters. The dry season extends from May to September. Except for occasional south winds, which bring a cold drizzling rain for a day or two, the season is clear, cool, and dry, the daily temperatures ranging from 60° to 80° F. During this period the grass withers, the livestock of the white men having to subsist on shrubs and what fodder the owners can provide. Horses and mules, particularly, suffer during these months. In August the Indians burn the dry grass so that with the first showers new grass can grow out and attract the deer, which the Indians can then hunt.

The dry season, which the Nambicuara call *kwénkisu*, is the most difficult. By the end of June they have consumed the manioc, maize, beans, and other crops which they have planted. During July and August they subsist on palm nuts, combarú beans, fruta de lobo, snakes, insects, fish, and whatever animals they can kill on the plateau or in the forest. The rainy season (*wahíasu*) is divided into periods depending upon the fruits as they come into season. September is known as *yadédunsu*, for during this period the people depend upon the jaboticaba fruit. October and November are called *ya'awadjítsu*, for during these months the bacaba palm nut ripens. December and January are termed *dhru*, or piqui time. February and March are known as *casíru*, which appears to cover a variety of berries and small fruits. April and May are termed *daugadítsu*, as many fruits and nuts come into season, particularly, the cashew nut. During these months the garden crops also come in, giving the Nambicuara a short period of abundance.

SETTLEMENTS AND SHELTERS

Each of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands has a defined area within which it hunts, fishes, collects, and grows its crops. These territories in-

000 the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

802 The concept of number is well under way among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. In their expressive manner, they count on their fingers and say "Dêra" for each unit.

802 201 When they have used up the fingers of both hands, if the number demands it, they lift a foot, repeating the same word, and then go on to the other foot.

A Tagnani chief who wanted to say that his people were already near and were bringing us manioc, maize, etc., in many baskets, having counted on all his fingers and toes, tapped the hands and feet of others present, repeating all the while, "Dêra, dêra, dêra" (this, this, this).

[805] To count the days, either past or future, which stand between them and a certain place, they raise their right hand to the face, rest their head on the palm, close their eyes, and produce a loud snore for every night to be counted.

822 The concepts of shape and area are also defined among them. The Cocozu call a circle irengçú, a triangle nendzu. Perhaps these words are merely names of animals or objects extended to cover these figures, which they trace accurately.

[Fig. 46]

821 They distinguish east and west. They indicate the approximate time of day by pointing out the place where the sun will stand on the horizon [260] at that particular hour. They do not seem to distinguish among constellations; they always gave the same name to any star we pointed out to them. The Tagnani indiscriminately named tangré the Belt in the Orion constellation which they drew on the ground, as well as the largest stars in this exceptionally beautiful cluster (Rigel, Betelgeuse and Belatrix). The total eclipse of the sun which was clearly noticeable in the Serra do Norte on October 10, 1912, made no impression whatever on the Nambicuara.

000 As to the biological concepts they may perchance have gathered, we cannot yet speak about them. What we were able to ascertain did not satisfy us.

[Fig. 47]

197 The Indians of the Serra do Norte speak distinct but related dialects which are mutually intelligible.